565 554 [302] [516] [495] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

554 562 574 [533] [565]

565 [83] 513 Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

[842] 582 [648]

565 [793] 871 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651] Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

Plate X

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Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

L'Hote--66b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25.

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

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Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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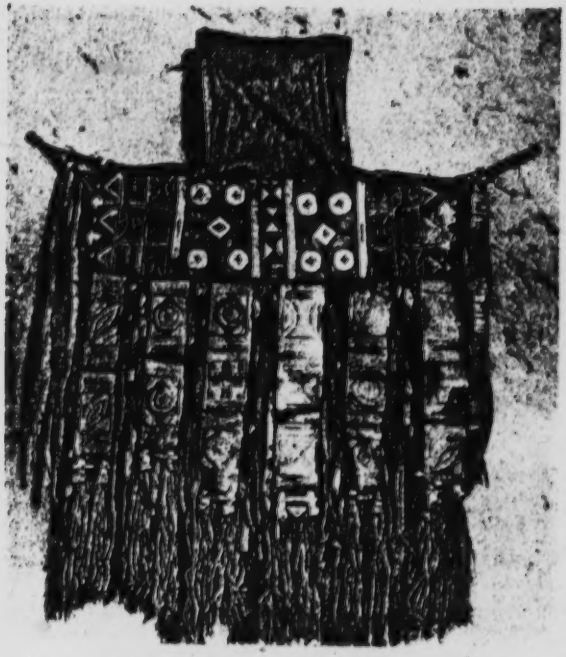
1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 251]
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]

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Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 263]

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c

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © Time, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574 among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well received.

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

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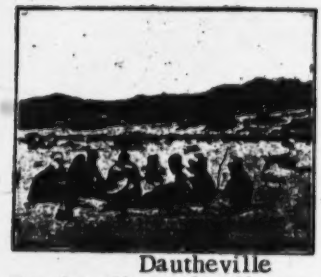

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515 not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151] cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782 scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788] at their disposal. They are content with "talmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241 to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" 211 [illegible], on their 302 386 skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 515 runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. [516 521]

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19a. Tuareg of the Tattok tribe talking things over in their favorite position.

[p. 204] [left - see p. 205]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19b.

[p. 205] [Right - see p. 204]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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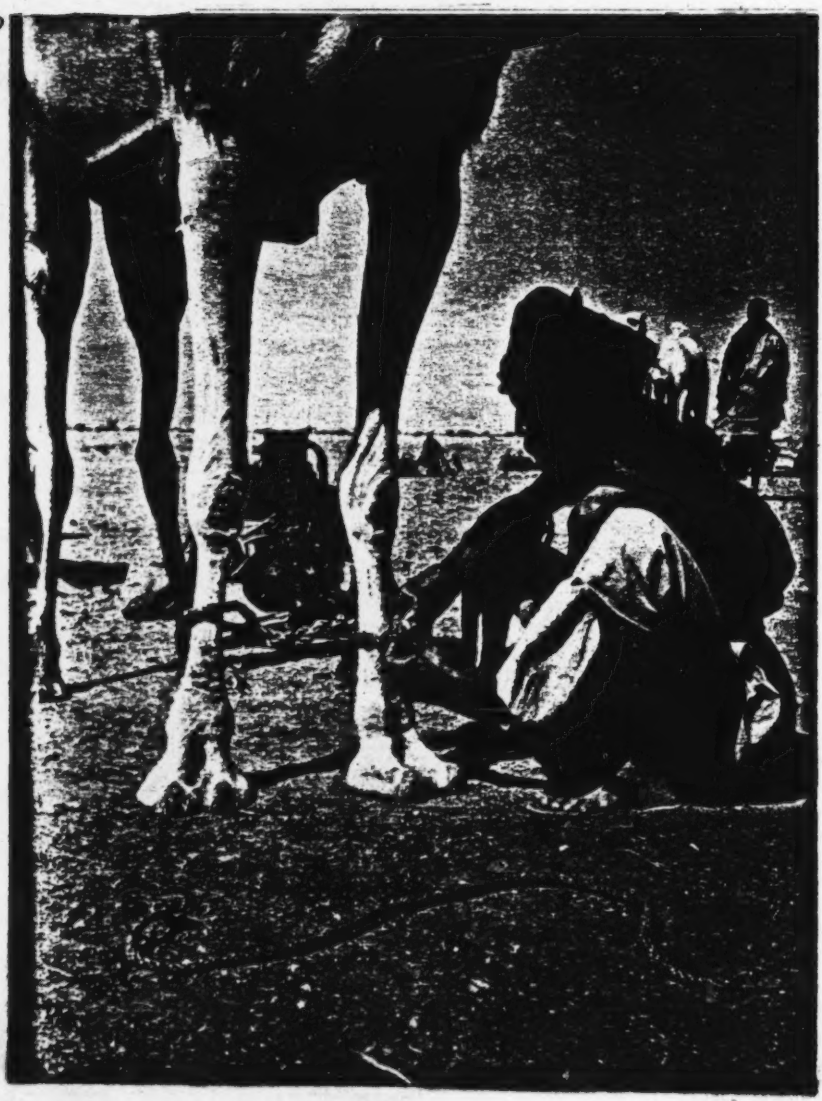

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

[p. 223]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p. 228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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49. Waiting at a rendezvous.

[p. 237]

6:Blanguernon ' Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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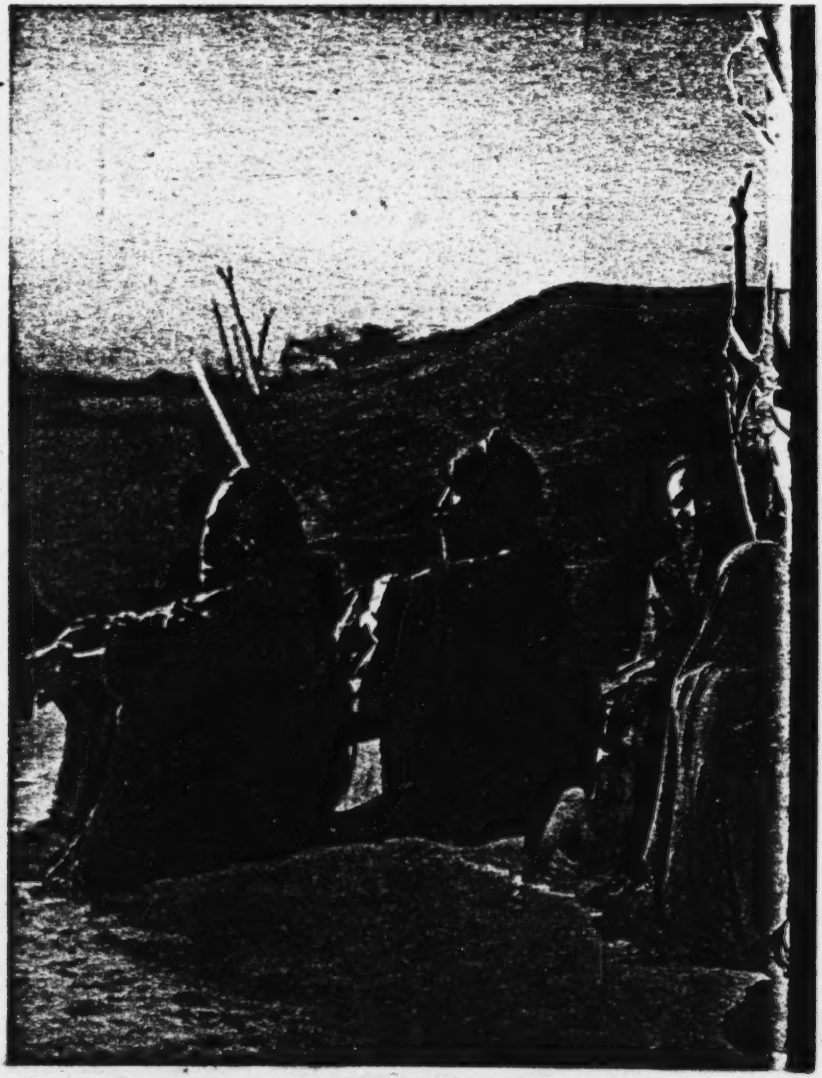

52a. Camp in the morning.

[p. 240] [left -see p 241]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[415]

52b.

[p. 24]

[right - see p. 240]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

224 291 516 412

Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afeza* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥaṛṛāni*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkherniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *aṛata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gwasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine.

Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Ech-chikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

252 *415 412 439 291 ● 816

Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed [189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan* 252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez* [261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for *415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tağimğimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amağis* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeğ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[572 606] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[Text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tehlé* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364).

B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:

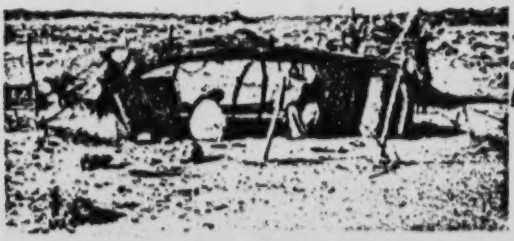

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Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.

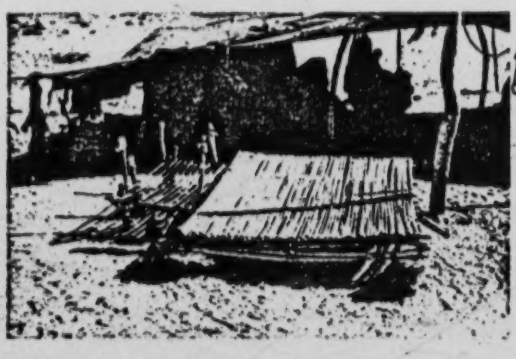

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Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.